Harvest of Profits—*Keith Hutchison*

THE *Nation*

April 28, 1951

MacArthur Joins the G. O. P.

BY WILLARD SHELTON

The General Sows Confusion

AN EDITORIAL

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Israel After Three Years

BY ALVIN ROSENFELD

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Doubts About the Schuman Plan

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

APR 26 1951

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

THE RESIGNATION OF ANEURIN BEVAN, MOST popular and picturesque of the British Labor Party's left-wing leaders, followed by that of Harold Wilson, president of the Board of Trade, may prove fatal to the already shaky Attlee administration. "Nye's" action is in accordance with a public pledge he gave prior to the budget to leave the government unless the National Health Service remained completely free. Nevertheless, Hugh Gaitskell, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, decided that patients supplied with dentures and glasses must pay half the costs in order to keep the mounting expenses of the service in bounds. At British prices this does not mean a very heavy burden, but Bevan and his followers believe it sets a dangerous precedent that could be used by a future Tory government intent on whittling down free medical care. Moreover, this issue, of minor importance in itself, brings into the open a split in Labor's ranks between those who believe that Britain's main effort must be rearmament and those who wish to give priority, or at least equal emphasis, to maintenance of the Welfare State. This does not mean that Bevan and those who agree with him have any sympathy with communism or discount the threat of Soviet aggression. But they do feel that Britain has been pushed by the United States into taking on a heavier defense load than it can bear and that military strength is being overemphasized at the expense of economic strength and social cohesion. Thus the controversy launched by Bevan's resignation may very well become merged with the broader debate over the extent to which Britain should follow American leadership.

*

THE CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY HAVE PUT themselves in a discreditable situation by their diehard opposition to the efforts of the President's Defense Advisory Board to set up a revamped Wage Stabilization Board with power to handle any labor dispute threatening to halt defense production. Business members of the Advisory Board at one time tentatively agreed that labor had offered an acceptable compromise and that fundamentally the unions were right in insisting that the board must have authority to handle disputes involving both wages and "non-economic" issues. But when these business spokesmen reported to their "principals," the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers, they were ordered to withdraw from the agreement. Last week public and farm members of the Advisory Board lost patience and voted with the union members to recommend that the President go ahead with the compromise on his own responsibility. The N. A. M.'s lobbyists promptly ran to Capitol Hill to complain and to talk expansively about "free collective bargaining" and the "right to strike." But collective bargaining cannot be free when wages are stabilized by statute and regulation, and the theoretical right to strike is self-limited when the country is in danger. In such circumstances there must be a substitute for bargaining, and that is what labor asked for—a board to which important disputes could be referred for equitable hearing and recommendation. Unless the new wage board is actually boycotted by industry, through its refusal to appoint members, the stage is at last set for the development of a sound program to replace the present rigid 10 per cent ceiling on wage increases. The quarrel over man-power control seems to have been successfully compromised, and the Leiserson report this week on escalator clauses—provisions in the contracts that wages will be keyed to living costs—should help settle that pressing problem.

*

SAM POPE BREWER, THE NEW YORK *TIMES* correspondent in Spain, has had his press credentials canceled, and a story from the Associated Press indicates that this may be the first step "in a campaign by the government of Generalissimo Francisco Franco against the seven United States reporters remaining" in Madrid. Mr. Brewer was informed that the action taken against him was based on "lack of truthfulness observed by you and your newspaper"; so apparently the Foreign Office intends to extend its censorship and its reprisals to the editorial headquarters of the *Times* in New York. But the accuracy of the *Times* and its correspondent is borne out by similar reports in the British, French, and Swiss press during recent months. For example, the Swiss *Basler Nachrichten*, which had previously minimized the possibility of any serious crisis in Spain, went much farther than the New York *Times* in presenting the Barcelona strike as the first important indication that the Franco regime had lost its stability. We have strongly supported the magnificent fight put up by *La Prensa*,

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and now by *La Nación*, against the Perón government. But we hope that admirers of Franco in this country will realize that it would be highly contradictory to protest against the assassination of *La Prensa*, now finally accomplished by the act of expropriation, and remain silent when the Spanish dictator expels American correspondents from Spain. (The Spanish press, of course, was long ago whipped into line.) President Truman had the right instinct in resisting the appointment of an American ambassador to Franco but the pressure of the opposition and the military forced his hand. And so now we have Stanton Griffis in Madrid paying tribute to the virtues of that "very fine gentleman," Francisco Franco, while American interests suffer.

*

WHETHER OR NOT INDIA GETS GRAIN FROM China or Russia, those countries can at least be thanked for the 2,000,000 tons of American grain now almost assured—on a combined loan-gift basis—by the favorable vote of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The news stories reporting the Senate's decision made this plain. "Backers of the relief plan here have argued," said the New York *Herald Tribune*, "that it would have harmful effects on the global fight against communism if Red propagandists could claim that India obtained grain from China after being rebuffed by the United States." Perhaps this country would eventually have voted the aid even without the stimulus of Communist competition, but, if so, the Indian people will never have any evidence to that effect. Instead of giving from a genuine desire to prevent people from starving, we send grain to starving people only in order to keep them from going Communist—or so we proclaim to them and to the world. It is good to know that wheat is going to India on any terms, for any reason. But American bounty will never win Indian support and sympathy until it is sent without thought of recompense. Some day even politicians may learn that decency is the highest strategy.

*

THE MEASURE OF ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG'S stature is the shocking decline of the Senate, and especially of the Senate Republicans, during his protracted absence before his death. For the first seventeen years of his long service Vandenberg was regarded as something of a pompous isolationist, but in 1945 he renounced his isolationism and declared that America must face its new world responsibilities. Insisting that his party could not cling to nineteenth-century anachronisms, he became the Republican architect of a bi-partisan foreign policy. While he was active, he dominated the discussions of foreign policy in the Senate. Even when Connally was chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Vandenberg's was the most influential voice, and he kept the Wherrys, Cains, and Jenners from gaining control. This

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magazine often disagreed with the policies advocated by Senator Vandenberg, but it cannot believe that had he been present last year, and in good health, he would have tolerated McCarthy's character assassination, terrorism, and lies—which Robert A. Taft took no step to check. His death is in all truth a loss to the country and to the United Nations which he helped to build.

✳

COLORADO HAS BUCKED THE NATIONAL trend by its recent enactment of fair-employment-practices legislation. In the fall of 1950 the state Republican convention refused to indorse even the mildest form of civil-rights legislation. At the polls the Republicans gained control of both legislative chambers, and political troglodyte Eugene Millikin trounced Fair Dealer John Carroll in contest for a Senate seat. None the less, anti-discrimination advocates continued to debate among themselves the kind of FEPC that minorities could expect rather than whether FEPC would or would not pass. The reason for their optimism lay in the peculiar circumstances which brought about the election of the "millionaire cowboy" Governor Dan Thornton. Thornton was the reluctant choice of Republican policy-makers after the death of their original candidate. To offset John Carroll's expected huge majority in urban Denver, Thornton began an intensive campaign centered on FEPC. The Democrats, too confident of Denver and seeking the rural vote, toned down civil rights to a whisper. The result was Thornton's victory in both the rural areas and Denver. In the ensuing legislative tussle the hopes of Colorado's liberals, Mexican Americans, and Negroes were cut down to conform to political realities. Governor Thornton, however sincere, would not brave the wrath of the G. O. P. machine, which while unwilling to embarrass him was only barely tolerant of his "fair dealing." After caucusing, the Republicans passed, with an assist from Democrats, a compromise FEPC bill under which state, city, and county governments are subject to the jurisdiction of the courts when found guilty of discrimination; private employers similarly erring are obliged only to submit to arbitration and conciliation.

✳

SOCIAL CHANGE IS ALSO SPEEDING UP IN Arizona. A hybrid of West and South, Arizona has a Southern look owing to its Texas-Oklahoma-Arkansas immigrants, its legal segregation of white and Negro elementary school pupils, and its generally Jim Crow public accommodations. The keystone of legal discrimination fell last month when the legislature repealed mandatory school segregation and made it optional with local trustees. Already trustees are proceeding with the task of ending the practice. In the state's second city, Tucson, the board of the largest district unanimously decided to integrate the one segregated school with the district's white schools as soon as possible, probably next fall. Trustees in smaller, rapidly industrializing Sunnyside District voted unanimously for non-segregation if Negroes move in. Superintendents of the two other districts will ask their trustees to vote for integration of white and black schools. Two mining cities, Miami and Globe, have announced they will end segregation next fall. Prescott has already done so, having ignored the law. Theater, hotel, and restaurant operators who have justified their discriminatory practices by pointing to the state segregation law now face new pressures from chapters of the N. A. A. C. P., the Urban League, and the Arizona Council for Civic Unity, which have proved they can get results. Hayzel B. Daniels and Carl Sims, Sr., first Negroes to be elected to the state legislature, deserve the highest credit for their leadership in this fight against segregation. Their election was made possible when the supervisors, in redistricting war-swollen Maricopa County, yielded to the pressure of Negro civic leaders and created two predominantly Negro districts. This effective use of political means to achieve social gain should not be lost on minority groups elsewhere.

A Turning of the Tide

THE loyalty-oath controversy at the University of California has now entered a new phase which should prove to be decisive. The Third District Court of Appeals, an intermediate appellate court, in a unanimous decision has ruled that the loyalty oath demanded by the Regents is invalid and that eighteen of the non-signers must be reinstated. The case can be appealed to the Supreme Court, but there are indications that most of the participants would like to bring about a general concurrence in the court's decision. Governor Earl Warren certainly lost little time in voicing his approval, and some of the Regents who were in favor of the oath and voted for the ouster of the non-signers on August 25, 1950, would now like to see the controversy terminated.

Fortunately the decision is based on broad and fundamental constitutional principles. The California constitution sets forth a specific form of oath to be taken by those holding any "office of public trust." Calling for the familiar affirmative oath "to support and defend" the Constitution, this section is similar in language and intent to Article VI of the federal Constitution. The court points out that this regular constitutional pledge voices "the highest loyalty that can be demonstrated by any citizen" and that "the exacting of any other test of loyalty would be antithetical to our fundamental concept of freedom."

This, of course, is the position which opponents of test oaths, including *The Nation*, have consistently taken. The concept of American citizenship would be

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immediately and gravely imperiled if we were ever to substitute a specific doctrinal disavowal for this general affirmative pledge. "Any other conclusion," the court points out, "would be to approve that which from the beginning of our government has been denounced as the most effective means by which one special brand of political or economic pholosophy can intrench and perpetuate itself to the eventual exclusion of all others; the imposition of any more inclusive test would be the forerunner of tyranny and oppression."

Not only would it be difficult to improve upon the court's statement of the basic principle, but the timing of the decision is providential. Stanley A. Weigel, who represented the non-signers, has pointed out that it "may well mark the turn of the tide against a dangerous and un-American trend to judge men by what they sign instead of what they are." Certainly the decision will strengthen the hand of those administrators who today face much the same problem that confronted Dr. Robert Gordon Sproul in the spring of 1949. At the same time, the decision will bolster up the morale of teachers everywhere. Major credit for the victory must go to the Berkeley non-signers, who have demonstrated, once again, that principles never defend themselves but must always be defended by people.

The General Sows Confusion

IT IS not easy to accept at face value General MacArthur's statement to Congress that he is no "advocate for any partisan cause." His speech was a highly polished performance, every sentence of which appeared to have been carefully weighed. It skilfully ignored the constitutional issue, the question of subordination of the military to the civil arm, and not merely challenged the President's policies but plainly hinted that they had been adopted against the advice of the General Staff. Were these just the words of the old soldier bluntly speaking his mind before he "faded away"?

Whatever the General's intentions, the effect of his address has been to super-heat political passions already near the boiling-point, and as James Reston noted in the New York *Times* of April 20, to divide "Washington more profoundly than it has been divided at any time since the start of the cold war." As a consequence we are launched on another "great debate" which, thanks to the General's own dramatic personality and the orgy of hero-worship whipped up by a large part of the press and radio, will be carried on in an atmosphere highly charged with emotion. Yet the desperate need of this hour is the coolest possible examination of MacArthur's program, the assumptions on which it is based, and its logical consequences.

The General's main thesis is that we are engaged in a war with Red China which must be fought to the limit, since "in war there is no substitute for victory"—a dictum with dubious moral and historical authority. Therefore, he urges, if we are to avoid an indefinite stalemate, we must either send strong reinforcements to Korea or make use of our superiority in sea and air power to defeat the enemy. Adoption of the second alternative would involve the following measures: (1) neutralization of the Chinese Communist "sanctuaries" in Manchuria; (2) close naval blockade of China to support an intensified economic blockade; (3) removal of restrictions on aerial reconnaissance of Chinese territory; (4) removal of restrictions on Chiang Kai-shek's forces in Formosa, "with logistical support to contribute to their effective operations against the Chinese mainland."

The General implied that these measures would prove decisive and lead to a swift end of the Korean war. He declared emphatically that he did not favor the use of American ground troops on the Chinese mainland, and he brushed aside the risk of Soviet intervention. Thus his recommendations are based on several highly debatable assumptions. No doubt we could inflict serious damage on Chinese industry and communications by blockade and aerial bombardment, but China is a fairly self-contained country with relatively few targets, and it is very doubtful whether such measures could force Peking to sue for terms. Possibly they would enable us to conquer the whole of North Korea, but we should need a huge army of occupation to hold that area unless we then moved into Manchuria to safeguard our conquest. Meanwhile the bombardment of Chinese cities would surely intensify Chinese nationalism, the force of which MacArthur himself acknowledged, and solidify support for the Peking regime.

Again, we have to ask what form "logistical support" of Chiang's army would take. Does this mean that the American navy would ferry it from Formosa to the China coast and cover its landing? And supposing that once again the Red Chinese forces proved more than a match for Chiang's men—are we then to leave them to their fate? It seems clear that this policy could easily lead step by step into full-scale war with China.

Curry, *Franc-Tireur*

Les Nations Unies, c'est moi.

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We need, too, to know more about the basis of MacArthur's belief that the risk of Russian intervention can be neglected. Is it better founded than his former opinion that Communist China would not intervene in Korea? We should not forget that the Soviet Union has a common frontier with North Korea and very large interests in Manchuria. Perhaps Moscow would be content to go on supplying its Chinese allies while waiting to see how much of our strength would be absorbed by the Eastern conflict. But it might decide that American offensive action against China, undertaken against the wishes of the British Commonwealth and Western Europe, as well as the independent Asian nations, would enable it to justify active counter-measures to its own people and the rest of the world.

The confusion of Americans on these issues is illustrated by the latest Gallup Poll, published inconspicuously in the New York *World-Telegram* of April 18. Of those interviewed, Dr. Gallup says that 62 per cent were opposed to the removal of MacArthur but that an even larger proportion were against "all-out war with China," believing that it would mean war with Russia. And there was a three-to-two vote in favor of greater efforts to find peace terms acceptable to both China and ourselves—what MacArthur calls appeasement. Obviously the public has not yet grasped the implications of MacArthur's program. We can only hope that it will do so when the excitement of his skilfully exploited "return home" begins to subside.

MacArthur Joins the G.O.P.

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, April 19

FRUSTRATED war heroes have conducted political campaigns before now against the Presidents who were their superiors. McClellan was nominated for the Presidency by the Democrats in 1864 after Lincoln had removed him from command of the Army of the Potomac. General Winfield Scott, recalled from the occupation of Mexico, ran on the Whig ticket in 1852 seeking vindication. Thoughtful Republicans, if they are doing any thinking during the emotional raptures of MacArthur's return, must be wondering whether they can really win an election on the foreign-policy issues to which, in supporting MacArthur, they appear inextricably committed.

In view of MacArthur's age, it is believable that he seeks no political office for himself. But his formal declaration that he does not want his statements used for political purposes can hardly be taken seriously. In every act since his ouster he has showed he was hand in glove with the Republicans. The House Republican leader, Joe Martin, served as his messenger boy to take word to the Daughters of the American Revolution and the American Society of Newspaper Editors that he would appear at their conventions. The General told the D. A. R. that the nation is seriously menaced by "internal subversion and corruption." One may wonder how he knew about this "internal subversion and corruption" after being out of the country for fourteen years and why he felt it necessary to complain about "regimentation"; but the refrain was familiar. It was the extremist Republican charge against the New Deal first proclaimed as long ago as 1934 by the Chicago *Tribune*, gradually picked up by others, and brought to full strength last year in the "big lie" technique of Joe McCarthy.

The speech before Congress, though purporting to be a statement on purely military matters by a professional military man, was a political address. It dealt with questions of high policy—the United States defense line in the Pacific, the future of Formosa, whether MacArthur as a field commander should have had the right to make strategic decisions extending the war to Manchuria and the China coast, our relations with the U. N. The applause from the Republican side of the House chamber was thunderous; Senators Knowland and Cain and even the sardonic Millikin grinned with delight as they heard the General echo their own words and demands.

Dramatically the speech was a remarkable achievement, and the millions who heard it over the radio were deeply stirred. The man's magnetism was apparent the instant he entered the House. With enormous personal force controlled by a rigid self-discipline, it is probably impossible for him to act impetuously: the deliberation with which he marched to the rostrum, paused, turned, thrust out his hand first to the Vice-President and then to Speaker Rayburn, paused, and then turned to Congress seemed the expression of conscious will. It was at least a performance of which a veteran actor could have been proud. In a Congress where good oratory is rare, MacArthur's sonorous phrases were striking, and his resonant voice, magnificently controlled and sinking occasionally almost to a whisper, should have taught a few politicians the value of speaking softly as a means of getting attention.

THE speech, in addition, was cunning. MacArthur did not specifically call for air attacks on Manchuria; he simply said he had asked permission to make "air reconnaissance." He did not dub our European allies knaves or cowards but confined himself to showing his resentment of criticism from "other countries." He did not try to explain away the contradiction in which published documents have trapped him—his cable to the *Freeman* disclaiming responsibility for the demobilization of South Koreans and then his recommendation to the Joint Chiefs of Staff that arms now available should be used

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to equip the Japanese National Police Reserve rather than the South Koreans. As one of his adoring aides put it, MacArthur is always on the offensive.

He will have more hero's triumphs before he returns to Washington to present his case in detail in both open and secret sessions of Congressional committees. Eventually, however, the issue he has created must be recognized as a political issue, a crucial question of foreign policy, on which the General agrees with the Republicans.

In a formal speech followed by no questions it was easy for MacArthur to say that the Russians would "not necessarily" come in if we followed his counsel and broadened the war. But last October he was certain that the Chinese Communists would not enter the struggle. When he was crying for an attack on the Chinese mainland, he did not even mention the danger that once we were more seriously committed, the Soviets might strike in Western Europe. The papers have played up MacArthur's assertion that "in the past" the Joint Chiefs of Staff agreed with his ideas on the best way to handle the Korean campaign. At some time in the past their views may have coincided with his; two years ago, when they did not want to defend the Republic of Korea, they may have felt that its defense would entail war with China. They may have felt last December, after the Chinese intervention, that military necessity might eventually drive us to attack Manchuria from the air. Military necessity might still force our hand if the Soviets gave the Chinese an increasingly powerful air force based across the Yalu. Secretary Acheson in December certainly flirted with the idea of "limited" war on China, including bombing and a blockade. But the Joint Chiefs did not agree with MacArthur around March 1 of this year, when the General renewed his pleas for permission to bomb Manchuria and was turned down. The Joint Chiefs have repeatedly told Congressional committees that we should not risk all-out war with China and Russia on two fronts. General Bradley, chairman of the Joint Chiefs, in his Chicago speech this week knocked down every major point MacArthur argued for today. The Joint Chiefs announced tonight that they had concurred in MacArthur's ouster.

Mr. Truman's foreign policy has been criticized on many sides, but at least it reveals no Asia-first astigmation, brandishes no general threats, will not lead to isolation from the allies with whom we have been seeking to build peace and collective security. It is not based on the pretense that we can open a "second front" in China by giving Chiang's troops "logistical support," when in fact American troops would be required to carry out the undertaking successfully. Mr. Truman's foreign policy offers no quick and easy solution of our troubles, but it allows us to keep working to prevent total war instead of inviting it. While the debate on which MacArthur has launched us will be prolonged and bitter, it will be an expression of our democracy. If we must fight the next Presidential election on questions of foreign policy, we should see that the facts and the arguments are made clear and then trust the good sense of the people.

Schuman Plan Doubts

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

THE signing of the Schuman Plan in Paris, dramatized by the presence of Dr. Adenauer, the first German Chancellor since Brüning to visit the French capital, marked the conclusion of one of the most debated agreements of our time. Eloquent homage has been paid to the Schuman Plan as the "first big step toward the unification of Europe," but a dispassionate analysis of its past history, its present status, and its future prospects injects a sober note into the exuberant rhetoric. It reveals that for the Council of Europe at Strasbourg to decide that the Continent, except of course the eastern part, should be unified in its structure and its destiny is one thing, but for the conflicting interests and traditions of centuries to be reconciled at one stroke is another.

The joke goes that President Auriol, when he was preparing for his trip to Washington, looked around for some gifts he could take to the Truman family. For daughter Margaret he picked a selection of typical Paris finery, and for "Papá" he tucked in his bag the Schuman Plan, finished and wrapped up on March 19.

This was the end of a long process. It was on May 9, 1950, just as the signatories of the Atlantic Pact were about to open their conference at London, that the French Foreign Minister made his sensational proposal, which he believed would "form the lowest course of the foundation for the European federation that will insure the preservation of peace." I was then in London, and I described in these pages the storm of opposition the plan encountered in Great Britain. At that time discussion centered on its economic provisions. It was not as clear as it is now that the Schuman Plan has a political as well as an economic side, and that both must be kept in mind in estimating how workable it is likely to prove.

Its political objective is the reconciliation of France and Germany, which is undoubtedly one of the conditions of European stability. In announcing the plan, the French government declared that the pooled coal and steel production of the subscribers would be available to all countries, "with no exceptions, as a contribution to the peaceful progress of the world as a whole." In those terms its political aims could not be opposed by anybody who recalls how much injury has been done to Europe through the generations by the rivalry between France

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and Germany. But in reality the Schuman Plan is subject to the same objections as the Marshall Plan, which would have been an excellent idea if the Russians had not walked out on the Paris Conference in 1947. Both plans, unfortunately, become an entirely different political instrument in a world divided into two blocs, fighting a cold war yesterday, a limited war today, and—if Washington, London, Paris, Moscow, and Peking are not capable of finding a basis of agreement—a general war tomorrow. M. Schuman himself recognized that his plan would hamper further attempts to obtain a measure of collaboration among the Big Four. When Bonn complained to him that recent modifications of the occupation statute in force in West Germany were insufficient, he replied that "being anxious to diminish the international tension, he did not wish to break with the fourth partner [Russia] on all fronts."

While the Schuman Plan may eliminate one cause of European conflict by allaying the age-old Franco-German rivalry and merging the two peoples' productive energies, it has introduced a new disturbing factor by offering a kind of quid pro quo—the Schuman Plan for German rearmament. Just before agreement was reached on March 19, the American High Commissioner in Germany, Mr. McCloy, was reliably reported to have exerted pressure on the Bonn government to make it sign and on M. Schuman to induce him not to stress his opposition to German rearmament.

IN THE economic sphere application of the plan runs up against similarly conflicting interests. The Schuman Plan cannot get around the fact that French industry requires, for example, a great quantity of coke, while the German economy will certainly try to keep a larger proportion than the plan contemplates. Chancellor Adenauer as a shrewd politician tried of course to obtain guaranties and advantages for West Germany in the negotiations at Paris. He sought, above all, the removal of all restrictions on German production and on the expansion of the Ruhr industries. After obtaining the practical abolition of the International Authority over the Ruhr and its replacement by the international administration of the pool envisaged in the Schuman Plan, he declared that it was absolutely indispensable for West Germany to be permitted to exceed the 11,100,000 tons of steel to which its annual production is now limited. French industrialists are naturally worried. As time goes on, French consumers of coal and steel will become more and more dependent on the good-will of the Ruhr magnates, the former supporters of Hitler. And when the Ruhr is the chief source of supply for Europe, when the Belgian coal mines and the Italian metallurgical industries are reduced to a subordinate role, Germany will be, automatically, the strongest power in the European federation.

Opinions differ on whether the plan will eventually be put into effect. It must first be debated and voted on in the Parliaments of the six countries concerned. The most difficult hurdle it will encounter will be in the Bundestag. On April 9 the German Social Democratic leader, Kurt Schumacher, bitterly attacked the plan and challenged the "moral and political right" of Chancellor Adenauer to sign it. The Social Democratic Party is against it, the trade unions are against it, and, paradoxical as it may seem, some of the German industrialists are against it, and have said so in their organs, such as the *Handelsblatt*. All these groups have different reasons for their opposition. Dr. Schumacher foresees that "the industrial power of Germany will be strangled by French competition," and that the plan may create an international cartel controlled by the steel and coal magnates. He has promised a fight to the finish against it. The trade unions fear that the regulations and restrictions inherent in the plan will increase unemployment. The industrialists do not like the idea of a directed economy and want to obtain immediately the advantages promised them after several years. With the situation so confused, it is uncertain how the Bundestag will vote. Without its approval the whole plan is imperiled.

The British are much less hostile to the plan than they were when it was first proposed a year ago but are still reserving judgment until they see it in operation. London was not reassured by the way its major partner in the Atlantic coalition, the United States, intervened in the discussions. "Owing to the unfortunate tactics of the Americans during the final negotiations in Bonn and Paris," the London *Economist* said on March 24, "the British government finds itself among those with a grievance about the settlement that has been reached. The American pressure and mediation, which brought about a compromise agreement between the French and German delegations, were necessary and beneficial in themselves, but they were marred by a lack of consideration for the rights of the British in the High Commission in Germany to share in decisions regarding the reorganization of the Ruhr."

The Labor government is counting to some extent on the opposition of the German Social Democratic leader, Schumacher; the recent meeting between him and Lord Henderson was widely commented on in the European press. But knowing from experience that the Germans change sides rather easily, the British are not leaving the matter to the Socialists across the Rhine but are continuing their experiments with making steel by an entirely new method. At the same time they have, in the Gold Coast and other areas, taken measures to secure their continued control in the face of future German efforts to realize William II's dreams of an African empire. As long as imperialism exists, no Schuman plan will be able to compose the rivalries of the great powers.

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Israel After Three Years

BY ALVIN ROSENFELD

ISRAEL'S coming anniversary, May 11, will be observed in an unusual way. While there will be the traditional parades and street dances in Israel, Prime Minister Ben-Gurion and his top associates will not be there. They will be in New York's Madison Square Garden, launching a $500,000,000 bond drive for the Jewish state, the biggest campaign of the sort ever attempted by a foreign government in the United States and an integral part of the three-year plan designed to transform Israel. What this signifies is a new approach to Israel's problems and a turning-point in its history.

The Jewish state has had only two birthdays, but each has been strikingly different in mood. In May, 1949, the people who celebrated the first anniversary of independence were magnificently, naively optimistic about the future, despite the oncoming wave of immigration. Labor idealists had succeeded over the years in making a laboring class out of shopkeepers and rabbinical students from Eastern Europe. Their trade-union federation, the Histadruth, founded in 1920 by a handful of men, now encompassed virtually all workers. Histadruth's comprehensive health and welfare system covered half the population. Its network of producer and consumer cooperatives played a key role in the economy. Its industrial empire, founded in the early Zionist days when private capital sensibly declined to take risks in the desert of Palestine, had succeeded so well that now Histadruth was the nation's biggest industrial employer. Labor's collective farms, the moneyless, idealistic *kibbutzim,* were one of the wonders of the world, and though they constituted a relatively small part of the population, helped shape social thinking. Labor's hold, it was true, had been weakened to a certain extent after Hitler's rise to power, when large numbers of refugees entered Palestine bringing with them ingrained middle-class ideas. But in 1948, when the state was created, labor still provided leaders and impetus.

Though the Cabinet was a coalition of Social Democrats (Ben-Gurion's Mapai), the United Religious Front, and liberal progressives, the men who actually ran the government were Mapai stalwarts who in their youth had drained swamps and built settlements. (Almost everyone thought that it was only a matter of time before the political differences separating Mapai and the left-socialist Mapam would be ironed out and Mapam drawn into the coalition.) Labor could with good reason look forward to continued dominance of the nation. Labor's goal was to expand Israel's population tremendously through immigration and also to keep Israel the unique country it was—a friendly place with little social friction, a high degree of social responsibility and discipline, a simple life but a high standard of living, no class differences to speak of, a mixed economy in which labor-controlled industry was of great importance, a labor orientation, a flair for social and economic experimentation.

BY MAY of 1950 optimism was replaced by a disillusionment which assumed dangerous proportions a few months later. True, the accomplishments of the first two years of statehood had been almost unbelievable. Agricultural production had increased by 50 per cent, industrial production by 35 per cent. Hundreds of new villages had sprung up. New roads, new irrigation conduits, a merchant marine, an air line had been built. But the hoped-for flood of foreign capital had turned out to be a mere trickle, while generous contributions from Jews the world over, plus an American loan, had failed to fill the gap. Some 90,000 immigrants idled in tent camps as a living reproach to the nation, and other thousands were underprivileged and but half-assimilated. The living standard of the settled population fell steadily, rationing became more severe, promised food rations frequently failed to appear. Dangerous inflationary pressures appeared, and bank deposits multiplied again and again. Imports outweighed exports eight to one, the black-market price of the Israeli pound was a fraction of its official value, and the shortage of hard currency was acute.

A certain amount of economic dislocation was inevitable. No nation could virtually double its population in two years without trouble. Modern Palestine, like all countries in the throes of growth through unrestricted immigration, had almost always had an adverse trade balance. Israel's production machinery and methods were antiquated. New settlements could not be expected to pay off economically for years. The potash works at the southern end of the Dead Sea, one of the major sources of hard currency, were not operating because the Arabs controlled the only route by which the product could be taken out. But granted all this, need the situation have become so serious?

The business community, represented politically by the small oppositionist party, the General Zionists, thought not. The government, it contended, tried to

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govern too much. With fewer restrictions business would expand sufficiently and attract sufficient foreign capital to solve the economic problems. The government replied that an uncontrolled economy would be ruinous in a country with so lopsided a trade balance. The economic issue became a political football.

As industry experienced an unprecedented if inadequate expansion, friction grew between its labor-owned and its private sectors. Business interests charged that labor's industrial empire, which included the biggest contracting firm in the Middle East as well as the only steel foundry and the only cement works in Israel and employed 16 per cent of the nation's industrial workers, received preferential treatment from the Mapai-dominated government. Another charge was that Histadruth enterprises and labor-run producer co-ops were monopolistic. These factors, business claimed, hampered private initiative and discouraged foreign investment.

That labor-owned industry and labor influence in the government did hamper expansion of the private sector of the economy could well be argued, though the charges were of course denied by Mapai. But this would not have been a significant issue had not the unanticipated economic problems created, above all, by mass immigration made it necessary to woo private enterprise. The very size of the Histadruth empire, plus the fact that Histadruth was both employer and employee and that labor industries were clearly supreme in certain fields, was enough to scare off some timid investors. And since investment is always a matter of "climate," the charges were damaging whether they were true or false.

On the other hand, some private enterprisers, reaping easy profits in the classic seller's market created by the ever-growing population, were undoubtedly interested neither in improving their obsolescent plants and thus reducing prices nor in entering the competitive export market. Labor industry did make attempts to do both, and also took risks unacceptable to private capital.

There were other tensions. The cumulative social effects of an immigration of 20,000 to 30,000 a month in a country of 650,000 people were tremendous, particularly since this immigration consisted almost entirely of people who had received no Zionist orientation whatsoever, many of whom were old or had lost their skills and habits of work during years in concentration camps, and included large numbers of North African and Arab Jews with mental, moral, and hygienic standards vastly different from those of the older settlers. Every social institution in the country was strained by the problem of assimilation.

Among the settled population there was confusion and a loss of values. The novelty of statehood wore off and was not replaced by any new inspirational force. The public, rendered sensitive by the difficulties of daily life, was angered by the bureaucratic errors of a young and overburdened administration. Instead of a brave new world, the people saw ahead nothing but crisis. A black market was fostered by the frequent breakdown of the rationing system. Whither are we going? became a major topic of discussion among Israeli intellectuals.

TODAY, as Israel approaches its third anniversary, food rationing is more severe than ever, the calorie intake is below the minimum set by the U. N., there is stern clothes rationing. Yet the mood of the country is one of sober determination and tempered hope. The black market, if not crushed, is under control, national morale is quite high, and the free-market value of Israeli currency is no longer falling.

Prime Minister Ben-Gurion

Some of the reasons are psychological. Ben-Gurion buttressed public confidence in himself by shaking up his administration, eliminating certain unpopular executives and attempting to end impoliteness. A vigorous campaign against the black market taught at least some people the basic immorality of the practice. Others learned the bitter lesson that austerity was here to stay and that they could not forever by-pass it by black-marketeering. The people have blown off steam and expressed themselves politically in a series of municipal elections fought on national issues and will have another such chance in the parliamentary elections scheduled for July 30.

Then, too, the expansion program, which faltered for a time in 1950, has picked up speed. Israel begins once more to feel as if it were going somewhere. Israel's frontier, the Negev, has been opened up. An all-weather road has been built from Beersheba across scores of miles of Negev wilderness to Elath on the Gulf of Akaba; new villages and experimental farms are being established; a scientific search for minerals in the Negev mountains has yielded promising results; a new road is being built to the Dead Sea potash works. In Galilee one of the biggest swamp-draining projects in Zionist history is under way. As a result of a new investment law granting substantial tax and other concessions to foreign enterprises, eighty-eight new industrial plants with a capital investment of nearly nine million Israeli pounds were set up in the latter half of 1950. Efforts

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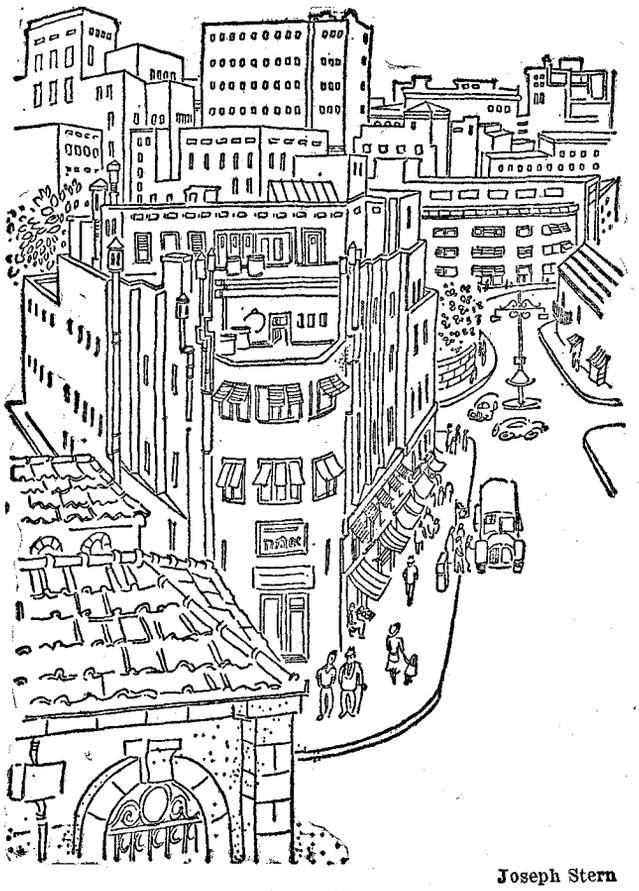

Joseph Stern

Julian's Way

(From "Jerusalem, Living City," published by the Government of Israel)

have been made to encourage business and export trade by the appointment of a non-party business man to head the Ministry of Trade and Commerce. Tax exemptions for cooperatives and *kibbutzim* have been abolished: this, depending on one's viewpoint, was either the surrender of an important social principle in order to cope with burdens voluntarily assumed or the abolition of a ridiculous ruling which gave an unfair advantage to one sector of the economy. The depressing spectacle of huge immigrant tent camps has been partially eliminated by the new device of work villages whose living standards are little better than those in the camps but in which newcomers have at least the dignity of productive labor.

Finally, there is the concrete hope of the three-year, $1,500,000,000 development program, which offers recognition that a state in being, unlike a subject nation struggling for liberation from foreign rule, cannot be sustained by idealism alone. The plan now taking shape is designed not only to finance the immigration and settlement of an estimated 600,000 persons in the next thirty-six months but also to make Israel self-sustaining. To do that, the people of Israel are asked to raise the equivalent in Israeli pounds of a half-billion dollars through taxation and bond issues, and America is being called upon for one billion through a four-point program which includes stimulation of private investment in Israel, intensification of gift-fund drives (particularly the United Jewish Appeal), efforts to obtain government grants-in-aid, and support of a $500,000,000 bond issue guaranteed by the Israeli government.

The program may not be a cure-all, but it aims to solve some of Israel's basic problems. Thus the largest single expenditure—$465,000,000—will be used to provide housing for the expected newcomers and to wipe out the hideous shortage which has doomed tens of thousands to existence in tents or tin huts. Even more important, $750,000,000 will go to modernize the production plant with American equipment and to create competitive export industries.

In its implications the program goes well beyond the goal of enabling Israel, at long last, to divorce itself from charity. It will, for example, permit the government to end the present unhealthy concentration of some two-thirds of the population in the narrow coastal plain by developing middle-sized industrial towns, surrounded by proper agricultural hinterlands, across the face of Israel. It will permit Israel to tackle the problem of immigrant assimilation more or less as America did —by integrating the newcomers economically first of all, in the belief that they will learn a good deal about Israel and modern life through their jobs, after which cultural integration will be, if not easy, at least easier.

A special bank which will not dare to play favorites has been established to allocate the funds raised by the bond issue. Histadruth's near monopoly in certain fields scheduled for expansion, such as cement, steel, and glass, will apparently be broken. The political and financial influence of Israel's manufacturing and middle classes will of course grow to undreamed-of proportions.

WHILE it is foolhardy to predict the results of an election in a country whose electorate has doubled in two years, there are signs that this summer's balloting may be followed by creation of a government reflecting Israel's gradual shift to the center. The General Zionists, who polled a puny 5 per cent of the vote in the 1949 parliamentary election, received 20 per cent in the municipal elections a few months ago and became the nation's second-largest party. They should do as well in the coming parliamentary elections. Many observers believe that Ben-Gurion, whose Mapai will probably hold most of its one-third of the national vote, may try to form a coalition with the General Zionists based on a compromise program designed to satisfy some of the insistent demands of business. (One thing is certain: it is no longer possible for Ben-Gurion to form a coalition with Mapam, whose leaders, once his close colleagues in Histadruth, have drifted off into a never-never land of Marxist dogma and demand that American government loans be turned down; they are themselves now plagued by a three-way intra-party split.) How

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such a Cabinet would work, what its economic results would be, who would eventually dominate it and the nation, can only be guessed at. If a Mapai–General Zionist coalition proves able to work out an economic peace in which labor industry and private industry can live side by side, it will have achieved something unique.

The parliamentary elections will take place two years ahead of schedule mainly because the important political forces want an election. Ben-Gurion in particular is sick of his principal coalition partner, the Religious Front, whose labor and middle-class sectors, while bickering among themselves over economic questions, have attempted to maintain a semblance of unity by stressing religious questions within the Cabinet and Parliament. The coalition Cabinet fell in February over religious education in the immigrant work villages, but the long-threatened *Kulturkampf* over religion's role in the state has not taken place. Most people, including many of the pious Oriental immigrants, consider other problems more important just now and are concentrating on economic questions. Mapai, whose members have done much socially useful work in the new villages, should get a sizable part of the Oriental-immigrant vote.

A Mapai–General Zionist coalition would not be a great shock to Ben-Gurion, who is a pragmatist rather than a dogmatist. In almost three years in office he has shown no patience with pet theories or pet institutions. For example, he urged the *kibbutzim* to attract immigrants by offering them wages. (The *kibbutzim* rejected the idea as contrary to their principles; many now find it necessary to hire labor.) Convinced that a state in being could not depend on a militia-type volunteer army, he compelled the free and easy Haganah to become a regular army with salutes, officers' messes, and the like, despite the horrified protests of some laborites. (Today the army's role in educating and assimilating newcomers is a vital one.) He alienated members of his own party by tangling with the powerful cooperatives, some of which have developed a public-be-damned attitude. He has prodded Israel, which wants simply to be left alone to work out its own problems, from neutrality to an informal alignment with the West for the sake of its future military security. And now that Israel's survival is dependent upon American funds and private industrial development he seems willing to come to terms with a conservative party.

The classless, socialist, farmer-labor society of which labor idealists, among them Ben-Gurion, dreamed some forty years ago no longer looks possible. That perhaps is a pity. But history did not give Israel the luxury of time, time for the slow growth and the controlled, trained immigration necessary to build such a society. It is obvious that the rise of a strong middle-class party must have a profound effect. Yet it is also true that Israel still has a powerful labor federation determined to raise the general standard of living. Its collective farms may not have the impact upon the public mind they once had, but a healthy proportion of the population is being steered into agriculture. Israel is and seems destined to remain a vital democracy willing to risk giving the vote to the unlettered and the primitive, a melting pot in which depressed peoples are slowly brought to modernity, and a land with so basic a sense of morality that, despite drab austerity and economic and political crises, it clings to the quixotic policy of unlimited, unselective immigration.

A Right Insecured

BY JOSEPH E. FINLEY

EARLY in 1948, when Mrs. Erma Leaon decided to sell her house and furnishings at 2630 East Twenty-ninth Street in Kansas City, Missouri, she found a willing buyer in Reuben Street, a Negro. She knew her property was covered by a restrictive covenant that kept Negroes from moving into the neighborhood, but on May 3, 1948, the United States Supreme Court, in the case of Shelley *v.* Kraemer, decided that restrictive covenants could not be enforced in the courts. Freed by this decision, Mrs. Leaon sold her property to Mr. and Mrs. Street. Eight of the neighboring property-owners in Santa Fe Place immediately filed a $150,000 damage suit, claiming the value of their property was destroyed by violation of the covenant. Erma Leaon, her former husband, James A. Leaon, and the Streets were named as defendants.

The trial court dismissed the action, holding that the Supreme Court's decision in the Shelley case put an end to court enforcement of restrictive covenants. The white property-owners then appealed to the Supreme Court of Missouri, which handed down a decision that neatly skirted Shelley *v.* Kraemer and endangered the whole principle of equal rights in housing.

The Shelley case was an injunction suit against Negroes to keep them out of property covered by these contracts. Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson, for a unanimous court, ruled that enforcement of these covenants by state courts was state action. The Fourteenth Amendment says,

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"nor shall any state . . . deny to any person . . . the equal protection of the laws." A state court's enforcement of these covenants would be a state denial of equal protection of the laws to Negroes.

But an embarrassing decision made twenty-one years before when William Howard Taft was Chief Justice had said restrictive covenants were valid. Because court decisions are relied on as the law, judges are reluctant to overrule past cases if any way can be found to avoid it. Vinson's way of getting around this old case without squarely overruling it was a thinly conceived statement that while covenants were still good, the question of their enforcement in the courts had not been settled before. This India-rubber trick led him into an unfortunate statement. "We conclude, therefore, that the restrictive agreements standing alone cannot be regarded as a violation of any rights guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. So long as the purposes of those agreements are effectuated by voluntary adherence to their terms, it would appear clear that there had been no action by the state and the provisions of the amendment have not been violated."

HERE was the opening the Missouri Supreme Court needed. It framed its words carefully. First it quoted Chief Justice Vinson's remarks. Then it said, "Since Shelley *v.* Kraemer also found the restrictive agreement, itself made by private parties, was valid against the charge of unconstitutionality, it may follow that an action for its breach rather than its enforcement might lie. For the breach of a valid agreement, there is ordinarily a remedy by way of damages."

The trial court was then reversed, and the case was sent back for a new hearing on the question of damages. The action against the Streets was dismissed, since they were not parties to the covenant and the Shelley case clearly covered them.

The Missouri court, however, overlooked one sentence in the Vinson opinion that most legal observers thought covered damage suits. "The Constitution confers upon no individual the right to demand action by the state which results in the denial of equal protection of the laws to other individuals." The other property-owners in Santa Fe Place had demanded court action by the state that would, in its practical effect, deprive people like the Streets of the equal protection of the laws.

Cases go to the Supreme Court in two ways. One is by appeal, for which provision is made by special statutes. The other is the common petition for certiorari, which allows the court a wide discretion in the cases it will hear. Since the Missouri decision was a questionable interpretation of one of the Supreme Court's most important opinions, it was very likely that the court would grant a petition and hear it.

But litigation is expensive. Lawyers' fees, court costs, and necessary bills for the printing of briefs and arguments make taking a case to the Supreme Court a heavy financial burden for the ordinary citizen. The Leaons, already suffering from these same expenses in the state courts, were unable to go farther. The petition for certiorari was not made, and the Supreme Court will never have a chance to rule on the Missouri decision.

A District of Columbia court, however, has taken a different view. In Roberts *v.* Curtis, a damage suit for violation of a restrictive covenant, Judge Alexander Holtzoff, who has been frequently criticized for his decisions in Bill of Rights cases, ruled on October 5, 1950, that damage suits were out, too. He said, "I construe the ruling of the Supreme Court as withholding any assistance by way of judicial action of any kind from the enforcement of such restrictive covenants. Obviously this ruling is binding on this court." Two facts limit the Holtzoff decision in the fight for free housing. First, the only federal-court decisions that bind state courts are those of the United States Supreme Court. Second, if the Roberts case does eventually get to the high court, it applies only to the District of Columbia, not to the states.

Even before the Missouri decision it was difficult enough for Negroes to move into restricted areas. Realtor "ethics," discrimination in mortgage and construction financing, and high purchase prices were holding the color line. Real-estate lawyers were working on other nebulous legal devices, but now the damage suit is their simplest, easiest, and safest weapon.

Since practically all state courts upheld restrictive covenants before the Supreme Court's blow in Shelley *v.* Kraemer, there is little doubt that they will accept the damage suit. The question of the legality of these suits will never be settled until another damage suit finds its way through a trial court, perhaps an intermediate appeals court, a state high court, and then to the Supreme Court. This would normally require at least two to three years and would take thousands of dollars out of the pocket of a white defendant. An organization like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, with the strength and talent to fight these cases through the courts, cannot get into them unless a white defendant calls on it to represent him.

The most damaging effect of the Missouri decision will be its use by groups of property-owners. While they cannot keep people from selling to Negroes, they can institute an immediate damage suit. An owner willing to sell to Negroes would still look for a white buyer before he would want to undergo the expense and trouble of fighting a long law suit.

N. A. A. C. P. lawyers are confident, like Judge Holtzoff, that Shelley *v.* Kraemer is broad enough to rule out these damage suits. But until the whole laborious process is fought once again up to the Supreme Court, the restrictive covenant is far from dead.

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Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Harvest of Profits

THE accountants' tallying of the bumper harvest of profits that corporations reaped in 1950 is now almost complete. For some two months the eyes of readers of the financial pages have been caught daily by such headlines as the following:

Du Pont Earnings in 1950 Largest in Firm's History—*Wall Street Journal*, February 20.

$834,044,039 Profit of General Motors Makes U. S. Record—New York *Times*, March 6.

U. S. Rubber Income, Sales Set Record—New York *Times*, February 20.

Alcoa 1950 Net Set New High—*Wall Street Journal*, April 4.

These headlines tell the story for some outstanding corporations, but there is nothing exceptional in their experience. Not only the vast majority of big businesses put on weight in 1950 but most medium and small concerns too. Nor was prosperity confined to a few industries; some did better than others, but all save a handful earned more dollars than in 1949, increased their percentage return on capital and enlarged their margins of profit.

These facts are attested by the National City Bank of New York, which in accordance with its annual practice published in its April *Letter* a table summarizing the 1950 income returns of 3,304 leading corporations. From this admirable compilation the following figures have been extracted.

	1949	*1950*
	(thousands of dollars)	
Total profits (after taxes)	$10,468,449	$ 13,563,279
Per cent change		+30.
Book net assets	$95,355,481	$101,908,347
Percentage return on net assets	11.0	13.3
Percentage margin on sales	6.6	7.7

A second table, provided by the National City Bank, shows how the major branches of business fared.

Number of Companies		*Net Income After Taxes (millions of dollars) 1949*	*1950*	*Per cent change*
1,693	Manufacturing	$7,046	$9,288	+32
98	Mining, Quarrying	219	282	+29
178	Trade	577	679	+18
248	Transportation	503	873	+73
293	Public Utilities	1,066	1,300	+22
99	Amusements, Services	93	102	+10
695	Finance	964	1,040	+ 8

When these broad business categories are broken down into industrial groups we find the following showing the biggest increases in earnings as compared with 1949: metal mining (+103%); leather tanning (+95%); tires, rubber products (+86%); non-ferrous metals (+ 81%); air transport (+81%); Class I railroads (+79%); aircraft manufacturing (+75%). Of the seventy groups distinguished in the summary, we find that only one, shipbuilding, showed an aggregate loss for the year. Eight others experienced a decline in profits. They were: dairy products (—2%); soft drinks (—4%); brewing (—26%); tobacco (—3%); traction and bus (—23%); restaurant and hotel (—1%); fire and casualty insurance (—26%).

Thus it can be seen that the profits picture was marred only by minor blemishes. However, as the National City Bank remarks, "the widely varying experiences of individual companies, even in a period of strong general trends, illustrate the need of using composite figures of earnings with caution." Yet while this method does tend to conceal the poor results of some concerns, it also serves to understate the good fortune of others.

Taken as a whole, the expansion of profits as revealed in this summary is so striking that it is not surprising to find that the National City Bank shows some anxiety lest uninstructed persons may be unduly impressed. Thus it reminds us that the growth of profits "represents in part merely the rise in commodity prices. . . . This condition of inflation has the effect of swelling reported earnings in two principal ways—despite accounting methods designed to minimize it." In the first place, earnings include inventory profits which are not available for distribution as dividends or for plant expansion since receipts from goods bought at lower prices must be reinvested in inventories at higher current prices. Secondly, earnings are really less than they appear to be because expenses are understated by charging depreciation on the basis of original costs, which are much less than replacement costs.

I shall be more impressed by the first explanation when I find the National City Bank or some other authority explaining at a time of declining prices that inventory losses are not real. And as regards depreciation, the practice and experience of different companies vary too widely to make generalization very fruitful. Many now working on defense orders are being permitted to depreciate new plant and equipment for tax purposes at the rate of 20 per cent per annum instead of the usual 5 per cent. Some concerns normally charge more depreciation than that allowed by the internal revenue; so that their actual taxable profits are in fact greater than those reported to stockholders. I remain unconvinced, therefore, by these attempts to gloss over the expansion of profits in 1950, an expansion which, 1951 first-quarter returns indicate, is continuing despite higher taxes.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Native Sons of Literature

THEODORE DREISER. By F. O. Matthiessen. William Sloane Associates. $3.50.

REVIEWING this book, the last and the weakest of a fine critic, is an unhappy task. I cannot but feel that the late F. O. Matthiessen was drawn to Dreiser more because he felt for him a vague political and religious affinity than because his native taste and literary interests were centrally or deeply engaged by Dreiser's writing. Although he saw, no doubt, that it is harder to say why Dreiser was at times a good novelist than it is to show that he was a poor writer, his effort at appreciation turns out, after all, to be a laborious one. The result is a summary view of Dreiser's life and work which reaches some high points of perception, as in the chapter on "Sister Carrie," but which in most of its sequences conveys chiefly a sense of weary desperation. What the book lacks above all is a focal organizing vision of the writer as a whole.

No longer close to the center of interest even of those who appreciate him, Dreiser today is not an enviable subject for any critic. Although his virtues were clear and considerable, he was anything but a complex artist. He was, as Mr. Matthiessen says, an American primitive, a naive fabulist of genuine power, an observant reporter endowed with a revolutionary genius for candor and with a simple, massive, almost maternal tenderness that is rare enough in any literature. But for more than forty years, in and out of his fiction, his mind persistently addressed itself to problems it had not the remotest competence to deal with. A commentator whose task it is to follow the course of Dreiser's thought through an extended work must solve the embarrassing dilemma of having to be too waspish for a good biographer or too indulgent for a good critic. Mr. Matthiessen, having chosen the side of indulgence, seems to have suffered from a compulsion to declass himself intellectually in order to find a meeting ground with Dreiser. The chapters that deal with Dreiser's incredible philosophy and equally incredible politics take on an unhappy—and unsuccessfully—apologetic tone and even then fail to come to grips with the limited possibilities of their subject.

Mr. Matthiessen observes that "the sense of life that we feel in Dreiser's novels is larger and deeper than any of the patterns of thought that they advance." And yet he obviously felt that Dreiser's thinking, however little regard we may have for it, has a certain importance. In this I believe he was right; it was not Mr. Matthiessen who attempted to make a philosopher of Dreiser but Dreiser himself. Dreiser was not content just to feel or express the pathos of existence. All his life he was bedeviled by the need to *understand* what he felt, and to understand it in large and ambitious terms. But his fumbling with metaphysics and social philosophy derives its interest for us not from the value of its content but from its representative and even symptomatic character. Dreiser is the common man thinking. Just as his ornate and archaically allusive prose is the attempt of an Indiana boy to be "literary," so his ponderous love of generalization is the attempt of a citizen to be a philosopher.

If there is not much to say about Dreiser from the standpoint of currently fashionable criticism, there is still something left to say about him as the primary representative of a phase of our literary history or as a folk figure, a sample of American life. He was the crucial actor in the emergence of a distinctly new strain in our literature at the turn of the century, when a relatively bookish culture, given to reflection and possessing a great deal of poise, was being challenged by a crass but enterprising kind of reportorial imagination whose primary condition was not books but experience—very often an overwhelming kind of experience too full of shock to be easily mastered. Dreiser still needs to be placed in historical context with other, less viable writers like Jack London and Frank Norris—almost all of them realists and naturalists, most of them undereducated men driven by a need to express themselves in large elemental terms and obsessed with ill-digested philosophical systems.

The crucial problem in these naturalist writers is their moral ambiguity. Paul Elmer More posed it a long time ago when he pointed to an "oscillation" in Dreiser's views of life "between a theory of evolution which sees no progress save the survival of the rapaciously strong and a humanitarian feeling of solidarity with the masses who are exploited in the process." The historical and psychological roots of this ambivalence still remain an open question for anyone who is interested in this literary type or in the important strain in the popular imagination that it represents. It led, on one hand, to the note of protest in Norris's social novels, the socialism of London, the latter-day communism of Dreiser and Sherwood Anderson. It was manifested, on the other hand, in the dismal racism, or anti-Semitism, the "hard" Nietzscheanism and social-Darwinian individualism that one finds in varying degrees of emphasis in the first three of these men. All four pass back and forth from moods of passivity, in which the savage processes of the American jungle are either quietly accepted or openly glorified, into moods of flaming revolt, in which there appears an equally intense moral protest against the human consequences.

No one has yet unraveled the full meaning for our national life of these native sons of literature, and it would be difficult to do so adequately in any volume in which Dreiser figures alone and out of context. It would be hard to say all that ought to be said about Dreiser without seeming to undervalue those qualities for which his writing must be respected, but one must begin with more than a candid acceptance of his limitations; they must be taken as the major premise and the primary clue of any study that aims to sound his significance.

RICHARD HOFSTADTER

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Time to Clean House

CONGRESS: CORRUPTION AND COMPROMISE. By H. H. Wilson. Rinehart and Company. $3.50.

CONTEMPT for rather than of Congress is the theme of this angry and provocative little book. Professor Wilson recognizes clearly that respect for its institutions is fundamental to the survival of representative democratic government. His concern, then, is with our popular American contempt for Congress, for our elected representatives and for politicians in general. A half-century ago the perceptive Mr. Dooley concluded "a pollytician or grafter . . . th' same thing"; today's common caricature of elected politicians as pompous, broad-hatted, string-tied windbags, shoulder-deep in the pork barrel, hardly suggests a healthier respect for high public office or for the men we send to office. Contempt for Congress and for Congressmen, a joking and cynical expectation of corruption in high offices—these attitudes eat away at the very foundation of free government. It is well that as frank a scholar as Professor Wilson has focused his attention on this most important problem of our democracy.

What responsibility must Congress assume for these attitudes? Liberally quoting chapter and verse from Congressional history, the author recounts many instances when individual Congressmen have been guilty of corruption or political immorality. Representative James M. Curley, convicted and imprisoned for using the United States mails to defraud; Representative J. Parnell Thomas, erstwhile investigator of other citizens, convicted and imprisoned for forcing kick-backs of government pay checks from supposed secretarial help; Representative Andrew Jackson May, convicted and imprisoned for bribery and conspiracy committed while war-time chairman of the important House Military Affairs Committee: these are but better-known names on the roll call of Congressional criminals.

Professor Wilson gets directly to the heart of Congress's culpability when he notes its complacent and do-nothing attitude. In the case of Representative Curley, from his first indictment in late 1943 to the end of his second term in January, 1947, "there is no evidence that the subject was ever discussed in the House of Representatives, nor any suggestion of any disciplinary action to protect the integrity of that body's reputation with the public." In most such cases Congress has adopted an irresponsible attitude of hear no evil, see no evil, speak no evil.

Indeed, rather than restore public confidence in Congressional integrity by meaningful action and public denunciation of their erring brethren, non-sinning members either have been conspicuous in their silence or have actively defended guilty fellow-members. Thus Representative (now Majority Leader) John W. McCormack could say of Curley that he had "exemplified and inspired others to follow the noblest traditions for which our country stands." To Andrew Jackson May, Representative McCormack insisted that "history will record that the part you played . . . would justifiably place you as one of the foremost Americans of this generation." In a college fraternity such shenanigans might be tolerated; in

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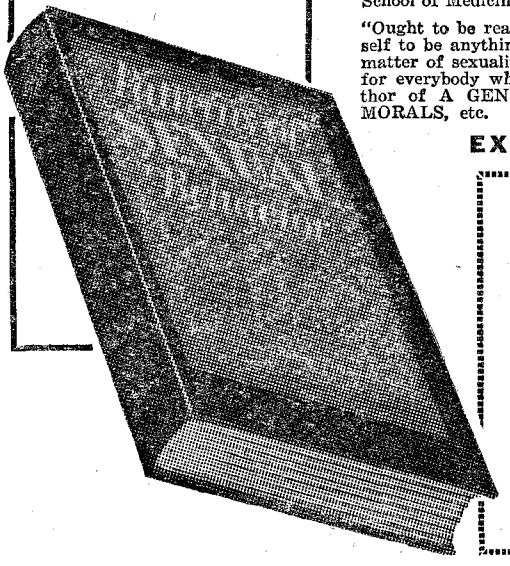

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the sovereign legislative body of a great nation they are unpardonable.

Unfortunately Professor Wilson's efforts toward an explanation of the dynamics of Congressional corruption are somewhat confused. With much good-will, much moral indignation, and real enthusiasm for his task, the author strikes out nobly—but in many different and sometimes inconsistent directions. Corrupt business men behind corrupt politicians, America's modern industrial system and its anti-social individualism, the low moral tone of a sick society, the absence of specific programs for national political parties—these are all singled out as causes of corruption. No single factor, however, is examined consistently and completely. Nor does the author successfully fuse these many points into a meaningful analysis of the difficult problem of corruption in Congress.

The solutions offered by Professor Wilson for the problems he has raised are disappointing. In large part this is because he is not prepared to deal with these problems on the level at which he urges the reader to approach them. The author writes that "the problem of political ethics is soluble only at the cultural level, and in terms of a new formulation of dominant social values and incentives." He adds that "change, then, not merely procedural or piecemeal reform . . . but *basic* change, is needed." These fine sentiments begin the book's final chapter, Strategy for Democracy, but they are followed by tactical suggestions that are most commonplace by comparison: specific programs of legislative plans for national parties, financial support for individual Congressmen by the national parties, effective party organization within Congress. These are sound suggestions; but following the author's conclusion that basic changes at the cultural level are imperative, they are disappointingly anti-climactic.

Wilson has made a beginning and it would be well were political scientists in general to apply themselves to the problem of political corruption with the same sense of urgency that characterizes this book.

RICHARD D. HEFFNER

Pride of Maturity

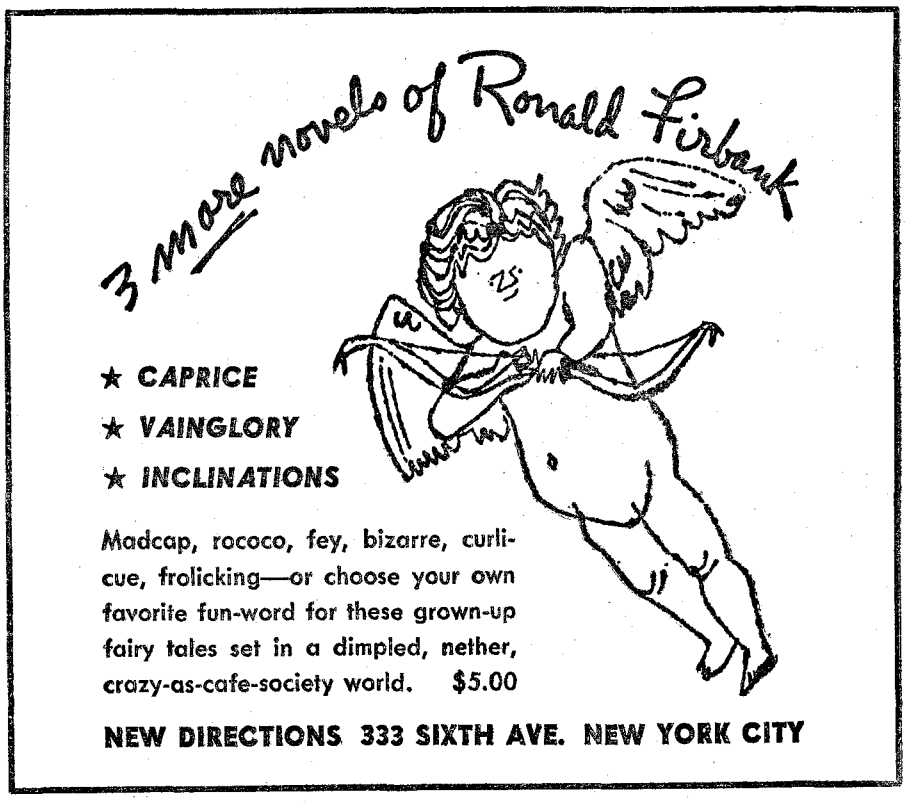
THE MORNING WATCH. By James Agee. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.25.

JAMES AGEE was born in the South and retains the pride and piety and love of language of the Southern writer. Yet he has lived many years in the North and had unashamed traffic with its profane institutions—especially with what the biography of him on the jacket of "The Morning Watch" calls, in an ominously suggestive metaphor, "*Fortune's* blood-brother, *Time*." And this was probably to his advantage. He fraternized not so much with the North itself as with a certain domain of popular art and feeling that is presumably nation-wide. Spared the patrician pathos of many Southerners, he found at the same time congenial objects for his passion.

Or *nearly* found; for to at least one admirer of his there was something slightly wrong, faintly oppressive, in Agee's way of working off an unlimited capacity for devotion on Franklin Roosevelt, Charlie Chaplin, the share-croppers, and various Class B movies. The objects were worthy; there was only, on the whole, some failure of correspondence between their worthiness and his words. Genius he surely had; the trouble perhaps lay in his trying to read that genius into things not of his own making. In a vague way his instinct resembled that of Proust, whose genius was of a kind that could only portray genius, nothing but genius, whether in painters, duchesses, or elevator boys. Yet where Proust actually recreated his powers, Agee was content to delegate his.

One says this the more freely because "The Morning Watch" represents a change in Agee's work. It is not "journalism," even the wonderful journalism of "Let Us Now Praise Famous Men." It is a story, completely a story; and it is mostly a very good one. "The Morning Watch" belongs to that familiar class of narratives having to do with youthful "initiations" into life; and because Agee knows the tradition well and is intent on transforming it, this is an advantage. Where so many writers show sympathy for the vague lost innocence of their boy-heroes, Agee is more concerned with the state into which his own boy-hero is being inducted, the pride of maturity. In fact "The Morning Watch" is the story of an experience primarily religious.

"Could ye not watch with me an hour?" Christ demanded of his disciples; and with this challenging text working in his mind, Richard, a student in a Catholic boarding-school in the Southern mountains, resolves to succeed where the disciples failed. In the course of a routine vigil kept by the members of the school during the early hours of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Good Friday he will surpass not only the disciples but his own fellow-students. For he is fatherless and his mother will not see him; he feels somewhat estranged from his fellow-students and in his estrangement a little inferior to them. His very devoutness is to him suspect: he fears it to be only a means of relief from "his desolation of loneliness," only a form of false pride. And so, kneeling in the chapel, "the waxed floor brutal against [his] bones," he remains until nearly dawn, praying or reflecting or merely maundering, engaged in trying to make his false pride true. This prolonged purgatorial ordeal fills the middle section of Agee's three-part story and is much the best thing in it. The organization is properly intricate; the language is constantly alert to all that is profound, touching, trivial, or funny in the boy's thoughts; and there is a steady development toward the culminating moment when Richard comes to the desired state of self-oblivion.

There is more to the process than these words suggest; and it is the story's great merit that, whatever the implications for theology, the process remains true and powerful as drama. The scene ends with a magnificent passage of ecstasy and broken speech as Richard stares at the wilted flowers and guttering candles before the altar:

> No more I could do, he reflected, if I stayed all night. No more. No use: and he continued merely to look without thought at the emblazoned ruin. "Goodbye," something whispered from incalculably deep within him. *O goodbye, goodbye,* his heart replied. A strange and happy sorrow filled him. *It is finished,* his soul whispered.

But the *story* is not finished; and unfortunately the scene that follows is not so well conceived. As we watch Richard going swimming at dawn with two unregenerate companions, earning their respect by diving deep and by destroying a snake, measuring the size of his genitals by the size of theirs, and wearing proudly a locust's cast-off shell, we wonder if his triumph in the chapel is not being capitalized on to an extent that is hardly legitimate, if it is not being extended too easily into the whole province of his sexual and social being. His total success seems something that is thrust on Richard. By gaining everything and forfeiting nothing he breaks out of the conditions of the story, of any story, if not of human experience itself. And the action ends by seeming abstract, the symbolism of snake and water merely mechanical. The fault is not that "The Morning Watch" is too "affirmative." No one objects to affirmations but only to affirmations that are made in a void.

"The Morning Watch" doubtless seeks to accomplish too much, but it still accomplishes a great deal—more than any American story by a new writer in the field has accomplished for some years. It may be that as he writes further stories Agee's demands on the form will relax to the point where a full success will be his. Certainly "The Morning Watch" is the *kind* of writing that seems to answer best to his genius for piety and style. F. W. DUPEE

Exercise in Hatred

VIPER IN THE FIST. By Hervé Bazin. Translated from the French by W. J. Strachan. Prentice Hall. $2.75.

HERVE BAZIN is a prominent younger French novelist, and "Viper in the Fist," his first novel, has enjoyed considerable success in Europe. Reading it, one wonders why the French are so titillated by the depravity that they find in Faulkner and in our American school of hard-boiled writers.

For this is the story of a boy's hatred of his mother (the viper), told with a kind of genial viciousness that is enough to make one's hackles rise. The boy and his mother—she is always referred to as Folcoche, a telescoping of "dirty swine"—are part of a decaying aristocratic family in a crumbling old estate tucked away in a sleepy corner of France. There is a vivid gracefulness in the descriptions of the family, the servants, the tutors, and the rotten-ripe surroundings that is reminiscent of Vladimir Nabokov's writings about his own aristocratic childhood in Russia; but Bazin has chosen to subordinate this to his hymn of mother-hate, which gradually swells to include hatred of love, friendship, and people in general.

This extended essay in contempt for humanity is done in the manner of Céline; despite the vast difference in milieu it inevitably echoes Céline's hysteria in "Death on the Instalment Plan." One hesitates to recommend "Viper in the Fist" to American read-

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ers, with the exception of those who have not managed to settle accounts with their parents, or those who can read with innocent delight of adolescent boys trying to drown Mama in the waters of the ancestral creek. Bazin is a clever and sharp writer, but in this book at least he has defeated himself.

HARVEY SWADOS

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

SEVERAL great works of chamber music by Schubert have been newly recorded:

Quartet Opus 29 (Mercury). The minuet and finale should be more relaxed; otherwise the Fine Arts Quartet's performance is good. Its sound is edged, and there are occasional surface defects. Mendelssohn's Quartet Opus 12 is on the reverse side.

Quartet Opus 161 (Westminster). The Vienna Konzerthaus Quartet's tendency to slow up tempos which are too slow to start with—e.g. the tempo of the finale—makes the work seem slack and diffuse.

Quartet "Death and the Maiden" (Westminster). The tendency I have just mentioned is exhibited in the Konzerthaus's performance of the first movement.

Quintet Opus 163. The same tendency is more pronounced and damaging in the Konzerthaus Quartet performance (Westminster). The Hollywood Quartet's tempos are excellent, but its performance comes off the record (Capitol) with less beautiful sound and with bad crackling.

Also two works of lesser stature:

Quintet Opus 114 ("Trout") (Westminster). The performance by the Viennese group is very good, and its recorded sound, though over-bright and shallow, is better than that of the performance recently issued by London (edged and veiled on top, heavy down below) and that of the Budapest Quartet performance issued by Columbia (edged; but the excessive bass that I reported seems to have been caused by my G. E. cartridge).

Fantasia Opus 159 for violin and piano (Columbia). Szigeti's playing is uneven—his tone wiry occasionally, tremulous a couple of times; the piano sound is wooden. Several small pieces are on the reverse side.

Of Beethoven:

Quartet Opus 132 (London). The Griller Quartet plays with crude inflection and accentuation in the first movement, changes of pace in the slow movement, and affected phrasing in the finale—all of which make the Budapest Quartet version preferable even though its recorded sound is less beautiful. The London record has a noisy resonance and hum.

And these lesser works:

Sonata Opus 47 ("Kreutzer") for violin and piano (Columbia). Casadesus's on-the-surface playing is inadequate and sounds as though he had the *una corda* pedal down. Francescatti's playing is better, but sounds veiled.

Quartets Opus 18 Nos. 2 and 3 (Allegro). The Kroll Quartet's performances are good; but No. 2, the less interesting work of the two, sounds brash and sharp-edged.

Serenade Opus 8 for string trio (Decca). Beautiful playing by Joseph and Lillian Fuchs and Leonard Rose; and the sound from the first side is the finest I have heard—with none of the sharp-edged or veiled violin tone of most present-day recording. The sound from the second side has some high-frequency distortion and loses volume and brightness near the center.

Among later works:

Tchaikovsky's Trio Opus 50 (RCA Victor). Too long, but with many fine pages. Rubinstein, Heifetz, and Piatigorsky play their instruments beautifully and the music with admirable discretion.

Brahms's Quartet Opus 67 (Columbia). A work I don't care for, played by the Busch Quartet with no beauty of sound and the cello too heavy.

Verdi's Quartet (RCA Victor). A charming exercise of the skill in instrumental writing and the subtle harmonic sense that one hears in the later operas, played by the Paganini Quartet with insufficient grace and lightness. Treble needs stepping up.

Franck's Sonata for violin and piano (London). One of his better works, well played by Lola Bobesco and Jacques Genty, though with some distortion of phrase by Genty, and the *Ben moderato alla breve* opening of the

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third movement as slow as the later *Molto lento*.

Sibelius's Quartet Opus 56 "Voces Intimae" (London). One of the works with pretensions to a meaning that isn't there, well played by the Griller Quartet. Side 1 has a noisy resonance and hum.

Prokofiev's Overture on Hebrew Themes Opus 34 and Quintet Opus 39 (Decca). The Overture is an engaging early work; the Quintet an example of Prokofiev's dry grotesquerie. The performances by the New York Ensemble of Philharmonic Scholarship Winners are excellent, and marvelously reproduced. Swanson's "Night Music," on the same record, I find uninteresting.

Berg's Lyric Suite (Columbia). Makes no sense to me; and the Juilliard Quartet's performance comes off the record with no beauty of sound.

Among early works:

Telemann's Violin Sonatas in A minor and G minor, Tartini's in B flat, Mattheson's in E minor (Lyrichord). The first three rather charming; well played by Louis Kaufman, with Antoine Geoffroy-Dechaume pounding the harpsichord. Treble needs stepping up a lot for sufficient brightness and liveness.

Corelli's "La Follia," two movements of Loeillet's Sonata in C minor, Telemann's Sonata in D minor, and four traditional English tunes (London). All enjoyable except the Telemann; for the most part adequately played on the recorder by Carl Dolmetsch with Joseph Saxby, harpsichord.

Marcello's Sonata in F for flute (Columbia). A charming work, played by the great William Kincaid with his unique silvery tone and other perfections, which may be marvelled at also in Debussy's "Syrinx," a pleasant Sonatine by Henri Dutilleux, and some less consequential pieces.

CONTRIBUTORS

RICHARD HOFSTADTER is the author of "The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It."

RICHARD D. HEFFNER is lecturer in history at Columbia University and also teaches at the New School for Social Research.

F. W. DUPEE is the author of "Henry James," recently published.

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

MAKE A WISH" (Winter Garden) is a pleasant affair which rises only at a few points into the creative abandon that makes such antics memorable. The scene on the line at the Folies Labiche, especially the futile attempts of the orphan and heroine (Nanette Fabray) to do her part as a tap-dancer, is very good. The bargain sale at the Galerie Napoleon—a ballet and pantomime—is the best thing in the show. On the other hand the décor and the dancing at the students' ball are downright ugly. Miss Fabray has too little charm and flair for the leading part. She remains throughout the gawky schoolgirl, wooden of movement, when she should turn into a bewitching and graceful Parisienne. Harold Lang as a Texan about Paris is fine when he's dancing, but his singing and acting carry little conviction. The lover (Stephen Douglass) has a nice voice but is otherwise unimpressive. Melville Cooper's performance as the Parisian wolf is by far the best of the lot, and Helen Gallagher's as the Texan's Poupette is the next best. The plot is rather amusing. The melodies do not linger on.

Shirley Booth as Cissy is responsible for what little gusto and comedy there is in "A Tree Grows in Brooklyn" (Alvin Theater). She has good support from Nathaniel Frey as Harry, and their scenes together, especially by contrast with what is going on around them, are very amusing. For the rest: the first scene is lively and promising; from there on, except when Miss Booth is on stage, the piece is tiresome and slow, not because it reeks of sentimentality about Life and Brooklyn but because the sentimentality is so heavy with artificial thickening. Even Miss Booth is hard put to it at times to keep her head above the treacle. The others offer no resistance. The music is, for the most part, quite commonplace. Miss Booth's best number, "Love Is the Reason," has an ingenious rhythm and a catchy tune. "Look Who's Dancing" and "Mine 'til Monday" are moderately engaging. The sets and costumes are attractive.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

New Evidence

Dear Sirs: Since writing to you protesting against Alexander Werth's report on the French attitude to André Gide (in *The Nation* of March 10), I have come upon new evidence that should, in all honesty, be put before your readers. Mr. Werth not only misrepresented the French press of the present but also went out of his way to falsify an easily verifiable report of the past by stating: "Two years ago, when Gide was eighty, dozens of young French writers were asked by *Combat* what they felt and thought about Gide, and the replies expressed almost unanimous hostility. To them Gide was the personification of all that was rotten, anti-social, feebly contemplative, and, in the last analysis, cowardly, in the French character, a poisonous plant of the between-the-wars period."

Intrigued by such strong language, I have now obtained a copy of that issue of *Combat*. Thirteen replies were printed. *Not one of them expresses hostility;* three of them show indifference to Gide; the remaining ten testify to admiration for the man and his work. Two of the group refer to his life or his writing as "exemplary," and two others stress Gide's "honesty" and "courage." Claude Roy states, "Gide has become a sort of national rallying-point"; and Gilbert Sigaux concludes, "I know that without him, whom I know solely through his work, the word *man* would doubtless not have the same meaning for me."

None of the replies could be interpreted in the terms used by Alexander Werth. The "rotten, anti-social, cowardly, and poisonous" Gide existed in the mind of your correspondent rather than in the paper he was reading. This is dishonest reporting; it makes one suspicious of Alexander Werth's reports on more vital issues than the death of André Gide. Furthermore, it raises a question as to the responsibility of a periodical that encourages such journalism. JUSTIN O'BRIEN
New York, March 28

. . . the Fact Remains

Dear Sirs: Justin O'Brien, judging Paris from a distance of three thousand miles, always knows better. Now he has come out with a new blast, charging me with "dishonest reporting" and urging *The Nation* to fire me. Is not the shindy he is trying to raise over Gide determined by more than mere righteous indignation on Gide's behalf? It looks like it from both Mr. O'Brien's letters. I note, by the way, that he failed to answer my suggestion that he was indulging in a "smear campaign."

But to get down to the "knockout" argument about the Gide referendum in 1949. This was one of the good jokes of the journalistic world at the time. It was intended as a "celebration" of Gide's eightieth birthday, but the results were so disappointing that only a small proportion of the letters—most of them favorable—were actually published. This I have on the authority of two prominent members of the staff of *Combat* whose word I have every reason to believe.

Mr. O'Brien's second attempt to demolish me strikes me as being about as feeble as his first (in the letters column *of The Nation,* March 25). Putting aside Mr. O'Brien's gratuitous vituperation, all that is left of the hullabaloo is that there are people in France who like Gide and people in France who don't like Gide. I still maintain that the great Gide vogue of the twenties and thirties is a thing of the past, and that the young generation of Frenchmen, in the main, has a strong distaste for Gide, which, in my opinion, is a healthy sign. When I say this distaste exists, I am making a statement of fact, based on a sufficiently long experience in France, and Mr. O'Brien has not disproved it in any way. His charge of "dishonest reporting" I dismiss with the contempt it deserves.

ALEXANDER WERTH
Paris, April 6

For Needy Congressmen

Dear Sirs: Partly as a result of reading *The Nation,* I have written to my Washington representatives with suggestions from your pages.

Do Congressmen and Senators subscribe to *The Nation?* If not I would like to contribute to a fund to send them subscriptions. I am inclosing a check for $10 for that purpose. Would other readers care to do likewise?

PAUL KERBER
Dearborn, Mich., March 15

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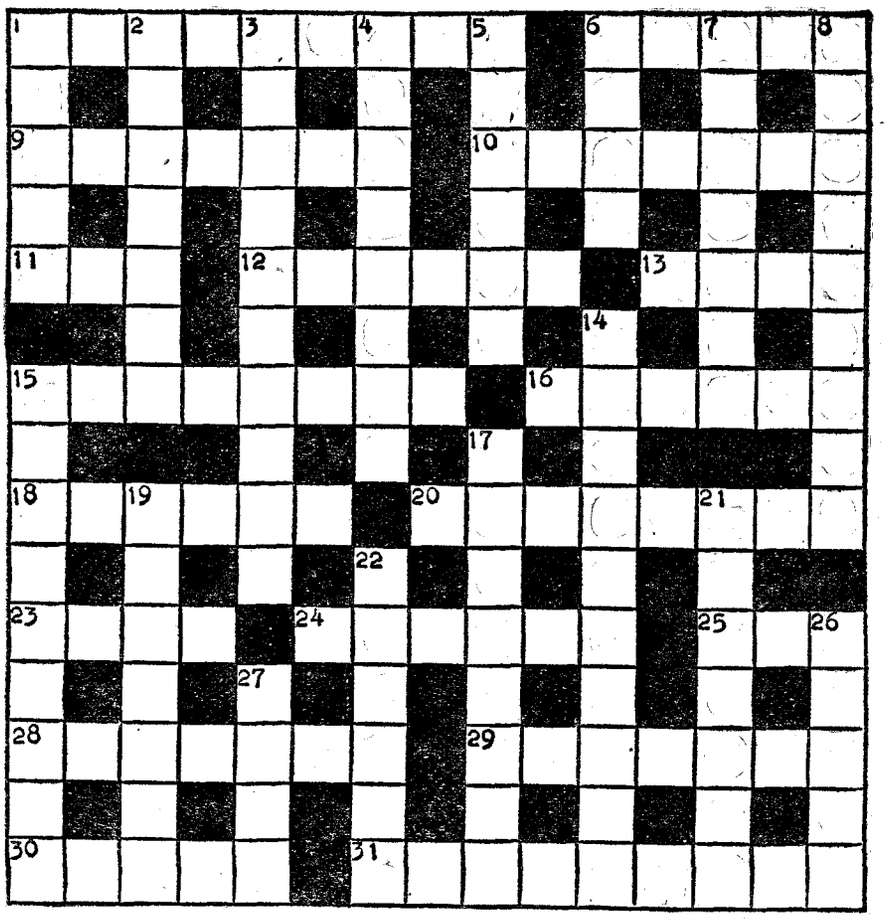
Crossword Puzzle No. 410

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 One short month before the speaker becomes an artist. (9)
6 and 19 Getting away with the calendar portraits? (5, 7)
9 Coach dogs on the floor? (7)
10 and 24 Implying variety of game businessmen select. (7, 6)
11 See 25.
12 Clean up on the favorite. (6)
13 Franz Liszt was one. (4)
15 A confusion of date and time to think about. (8)
16 Straighten up. (6)
18 The *savoir-faire* of the Middle European. (6)
20 How bees and ants behave? (8)
23 King Lear told Gloster to look with his. (4)
24 See 10.
25 and 11 It's a little enough thing to forbid headgear. (6)
28 Egg-money? (7)
29 What Henry V said to do to the action of a tiger. (7)
30 Exposition dancer, when little. (5)
31 Where the Barons raised beef, and the King ate crow. (9)

DOWN

1 Money for the ticket? (5)
2 Hit one ball after another. (7)
3 A summer hit, but a worse nuisance at other times. (10)
4 Vessels pitch? Quite the opposite, but they may veer a little! (4-4)
5 Study in Scarlet, perhaps? (6)
6 Just the thing, according to Hamlet. (4)
7 Behave like 22. (7)
8 "Where leaves the rose of————?" (*Rubaiyat*) (9)
14 Not a habit of the faithful few. (10)
15 Such growth is little more than a sort of palm at first. (5, 4)
17 A foreigner, but a Shakespearean countess at heart. (8)
19 See 6 across
21 Lipped. (7)
22 Member of a sect frequently passed when things are not to one's taste. (6)
26 A relative of Bernie Cesar. (5)
27 Found in sporting events of field and stream. (4)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 409

ACROSS:—1 POSSESSIVE; 6 SPAT; 10 TOXEMIA; 11 SCIENCE; 12 IVAN; 13 GORGONZOLA; 15 GOTLAND; 16 SOPRANO; 17 NASCENT; 20 FONDANT; 22 HEADSTRONG; 23 EPEE; 25 DEFENSE; 26 AUSTRIA; 27 GLEE; 28 FOREHANDED.

DOWN:—1 PUTTING ON THE DOG; 2 SEXTANT; 3 ELMO; 4 SEAFOOD; 5 VISAGES; 7 PANDORA; 8 THE LAY OF THE LAND; 9 KIDNAPING; 14 CARESSING; 18 SNAFFLE; 19 TORPEDO; 20 FANFARE; 21 ASPIRED; 24 ASIA.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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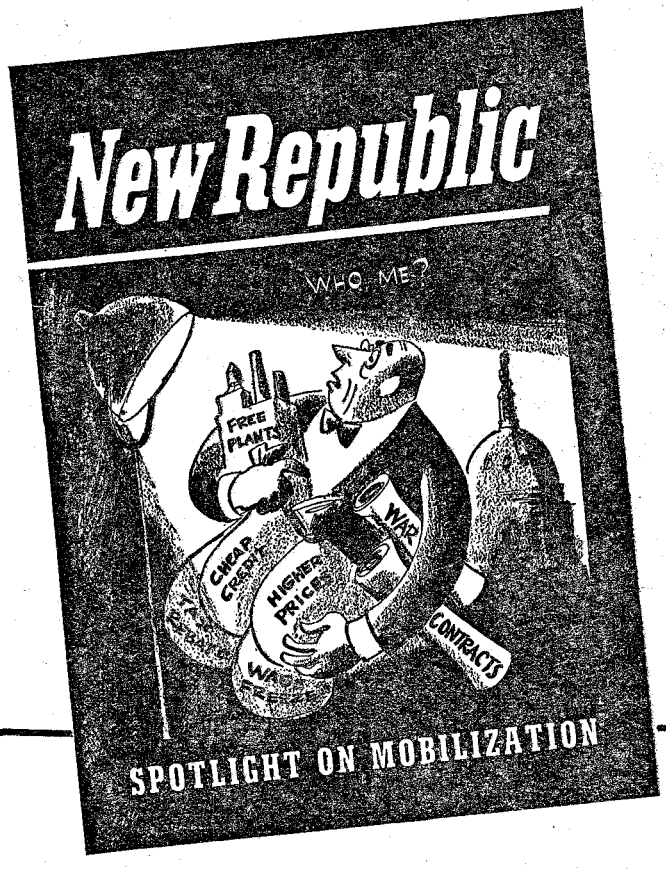

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